SECTION B — MOHAMMEDISM

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THE PROGRESS OF ISLAMIC SCIENCE IN THE LAST THREE DECADES

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THE title given by me to this discourse clearly indicates that we study and judge the life of Islam, and the documents from which we learn the history of its development, from quite different points of view from our predecessors of half a century ago. The scientific study of Islam has exhibited very significant progress in these last decades. I not only mean to say that we know *more* about Islam, and that our knowledge is more abundant than that, for instance, of Hadrian Reland's (1704) contemporaries. This increase of knowledge is the natural outcome of two things: first, a more intimate knowledge of the countries where the believers in this religion live; secondly, the always increasing knowledge of the theological literature of Islam and its sects. But we also know Islam in quite a different manner from our predecessors. That is to say, we consider it from other points of view and study it by other methods.

There are two groups of the scientific results of our modern time, which could not pass without having an effect upon the study of Islam, nor could the researches concerning it escape their influence either.

First, the methods of historical critics which have proved successful with the documents of other religions. In other words, the traditional documents of the origin and development of Islam have been submitted to the same historical-critical examination as we have

been taught to apply to the literary witnesses to ancient Christianity and rabbinical Judaism.

Second, the science of comparative religion, which has only risen in these last decades, has established ethno-psychological laws of universal value for the understanding of the origin and growth of the religious ideas of men; of it, too, we have made use in comprehending the complicated phenomena of the historical Islam.

We have, then, applied the results of these two methods, the historical-critical and the comparative-religious, to our consideration of Islam. You cannot fail to observe on these premises the total change which has taken place, leaving aside special monographs, when you compare the manuals of our day treating *universal* questions with those of older literary periods. How much rubbish has been cleared away, from what different points of view the seeds, bloom, and fruit of Islam are considered! How the dead letter has been brought into life and placed in living connection with historical reality! The great Hadrian Reland, to whom we owe the first scientific treatises on Islamic institutions, when introducing his subject, believed he could not better recommend his inquiries than to present them "*uti docetur in templis et scholis Mohammedicis*"; that is to say, "as they are taught in Muhammadan temples and schools." We modify this principle, or rather enrich it and represent Islam as it appears in its development, in its living formation, and in its effects on society and in history.

If, after these introductory remarks, I had to indicate in short the results themselves which this new scientific view of Islamic matters has brought to light, I could on this American soil deliver myself of that task with the greatest ease. Read the book appearing scarcely a year ago in New York by my learned friend, Duncan B. Macdonald,[1] Professor in Hartford, whom I am particularly happy to see among my hearers to-day, and I feel sure the volume will afford enjoyable reading for you all. You will find there united in interesting literary form, and with exact scientific touch, the results to which the modern scientific views lead, and a solid conclusive summing-up of conscientious and minute researches about Islamic development, as it appears in a literature embracing thirteen centuries. It is a contribution offered by America to this department of knowledge, calling forth our thanks.

But what are the paths modern science had to follow to come to such results? This shall form the subject of my reflections to-day.

[1] *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, by Duncan B. Macdonald. New York (Charles Scribner's Sons), 1903. (Series of Hand-Books in Semitics, edited by J. A. Craig, no. IX.)

II

It is no longer *single* errors of detail which we have to correct. Of course some of them have prolonged their lives with the obstinate perseverance peculiar to untruths, creeping, even to this day, from manual to manual and belonging to the iron fund of Oriental *falsa*. Some pet notions to which the Orientalists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries clung very closely are now extirpated root and branch like the seven nations of Canaan. For instance, you could read in older works — and it sometimes appears in newspapers even to the present day — that Muhammad found his last resting-place in Mekka in the holy Ka'bah, and also that his tomb there is the goal of the famous pilgrimage of Islam. The tale about the magnetic walls, between which the coffin of the Prophet is suspended in the air, has — we hope — vanished altogether. The books about the East and the travels of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could not do without that fable. The idea universally spread in past centuries, that every Jew wishing to share the Prophet's Paradise as a true Believer was obliged to pass through the Christian religion, by being regularly baptized, as Jesus is also acknowledged by Islam as a prophet, has likewise disappeared, though Martinus Baumgarten of Nürnberg (1507) was not the last to believe and copy the story.[1]

These and many other things, we are now luckily done with. They did not endure until we had penetrated with our critical lead into the depths of popular ideas. But what was sustained more obstinately than a dozen such blunders was the thoroughly false doctrine, which had caught hold on our educational literature; namely, that the barrier between the two great divisions of Islam, the Sunnites and Shi'ites, consists in this, that the latter recognize beside the Koran nothing as an authority, while the former acknowledge beside that revealed religious book also the Sunna, namely, tradition, as a source of religious conduct and creed; an erroneous view which to this day has not yet disappeared from the schools.

But the errors in these particular questions can only be attributed to false information. With correct information such blunders could have been easily prevented.

The true progress of the science of Islam, of which we are to speak here, brings us into close connection with the forming and developing forces and factors of Islam. You can now ask first of all, Do we know and understand the Koran better than the scholars of the preceding generation, and can we present this advanced knowledge to an instructed public in a sure form? This first question we can

[1] Cf. the present writer's article: "Die symbolische Rose in den nordafrikanischen religiösen Orden," in *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, 1890, p. 8 ff., where are presented a considerable number of such mistakes.

at once answer in the affirmative. Not that we have learned a great deal as regards the language and the exegesis of this sacred book of Islam, though there are peculiarities (for instance the knowledge of borrowed words)[1] by which our understanding has increased in this too. Yet in general the philological problems of the Koran are not so complicated as those of the Vedas and the Avesta. But the indefatigable zeal and masterly penetration of scholars like Theodor Nöldeke, W. Robertson Smith, and Julius Wellhausen[2] have, out of most minute researches into and criticism of the literary remains and by simultaneous comparison with other Semitic faiths, diffused surprising light upon pre-Islamic religion and the sentiments and institutions of the old Arabians: a significant progress compared to the last preceding valuable analysis of the pre-Islamic religion by Osiander (1853) and Ludolf Krehl (1862). By the deepening of our knowledge about the pre-Islamic state of Arabian religion, about the civilization and ethical positions, the customs and laws of the tribes, our points of view for judging Muhammad's reform are essentially enriched and its starting-points and antecedences are now clearer to our eye. In one word: the environment, in which the Prophet grew, the community to which he applied himself with his enthusiastic speech, have approached us scientifically and therefore we understand them better.

The impulse also inducing Muhammad to destroy the pagan traditions of his native country, the Jewish and Christian elements, namely, in his teaching, have been examined closer and closer. Though the theological interest has from the beginning of these studies ever favored the inquiry into the dependence of Islam on Judaism and Christianity, even this old tendency has again taken a new quickening, and I take pleasure in referring at this place to the valuable Eli Lectures of the American scholar Henry Preserved Smith on the relationship of the Koran to the Old and the New Testament.[3]

Among the sources from which Muhammad derived the constructive thoughts of his doctrine, Parseeism enters more and more into the foreground of consideration. One could rather presume that the

[1] S. Fraenkel, *De vocabulis in antiquis Arabum carminibus et in Corano peregrinis* (Lugd. Batav. 1880). — *Dvořak, über die Fremdwörter in Koran* (Wien, 1885, Sitzungsber. der Akad. der Wiss. zu Wien, Phil. hist. Cl. vol. 109).

[2] W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Cambridge, 1885; new edition, London, 1903); J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidenthums gesammelt und erleutert* (Berlin, 1887, Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, part 3; new edition, Berlin, 1897), and the important criticisms of these works by Th. Nöldeke, in *Z D M G.* vols. 40 and 41. — W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, First Series (London, 1889; new edition, 1899); Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern* (Göttingen, 1893, in *Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellsch der Wiss.* no. XI).

[3] H. P. Smith, *The Bible and Islam, or the Influence of the Old and New Testaments on the Religion of Mohammed*, being the Eli Lectures for 1897.

Prophet of Arabia has been influenced, besides some eschatological elements which the believers of monotheistic religions all owe to Parseeism, also in other religious points of view by the Madjus (as he calls the followers of Parseeism) who were accessible to him. It is not very attractive, that the idea of the personal "impurity" of the Unbeliever — a Persian idea — should be the fruit of this influence. And indeed, at a closer view we find that the motives to intolerance, the persecution of followers of other persuasions, and to inter-confessional quarrels show themselves also in the further development of Islam as the fruit of Persian influence and not as the primitive effects of Arabism, which is quite inoffensive in religious respects.[1] In the same proportion as the analytical researches are getting deeper and deeper, in like manner the special inquiries about single points of Koranic belief are spreading more and more. Considering the manifold theoretical divergences existing between the different schools as to the dogmas which all could freely develop within their spheres, it will not be an easy task to state a dogmatic of Islam as a system, though desired from so many sides, which could be compared to the settled structure of the dogmatics of any Christian confession. My regretted teacher, Ludolf Krehl (died in 1901), who was one of the most competent authorities in this matter, has enriched science with many valuable special researches[2] and left a comprehensive work of this kind, which will, let us hope, be published by his pious successors. Meanwhile we have in different monographical researches many a useful treatise on the religious system of the Koran. Besides the work of Hubert Grimme[3] embracing the whole extent of this sacred book of Islam, we have monographs on *Muhammad's Doctrine of Revelation* (1898, by Otto Pautz)[4] and also on *The Doctrine of Predestination in Mussulman Theology* (1902, A. de Vlieger).[5]

[1] Cf. the present writer's paper: *Islamisme et Parsisme*, published in *Actes du premier Congrès international d'Histoire des Religions*. Vol. I (Paris, 1901)

[2] *On the Doctrine of Predestination in the Koran and its Relation to Other Islamic Dogmas* (Berichte der Kön. Sächs. Ges. der Wissensch. Phil. Hist. Cl. for 1870); *Contributions to Islamic Dogmatics*, I (*ibid.* 1885); *Muhammadan View on what they call fitra* (Festgruss an Rudolf Roth, Stuttgart, 1893); *Contributions to the Characteristic of the Doctrine about "Faith" in Islam* (Leipzig University-program for 1877).

[3] *A System of Koranic Theology* (Mohammed, part II, Münster, 1895).

[4] *Muhammads Lehre von der Offenbarung quellenmässig untersucht* (Leipzig, 1898).

[5] The doctrinal differences between the various dogmatic parties, as well as their history, have not yet been worked out in a *conclusive* manner since the attempt made by Alfred v. Kremer, in his *Herrschende Ideen des Islams* (Leipzig, 1868) and by Prof. Houtsma, in his *Strijd over het dogma in den Islam* (Leide, 1875). That is the reason why we have not dealt here with inquiries concerning single elements relative to this question. But we should mention many useful contributions hereto by Martin Schreiner in his studies published in *Z D M G*, vols. 42, 52, 53, and in the *Annual Reports* of the Berlin Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums, for 1895 and 1900.

The origin and the historical character of Sufism (Islamic theosophy and mysticism) in its manifold shapes are also among the tasks to be solved in times to come.

III

Considering the mere form, there is certainly no seemingly surer kind of authentication than the great volume of reports, recognized as the tradition of Islam, can show to prove its credibility. You there meet with testimonies reaching backwards from generation to generation to the very founders and from trustworthy informants, who, as regards character and moral integrity, are above all suspicion, about words and deeds of Muhammad and of his companions, who report the words and deeds of their Master. You will understand with what painful conscientiousness the pious Muhammadans applied themselves to possess the Master's words in authentic form as reported by the best witness. On this depended their exact knowledge of the sacred history of Islam, the correctness of their creeds, nay, the very righteousness of their religious and lawful life; in a word, the conditions of their salvation. Holding in mind the importance of this matter, full care was bestowed by Islam upon the proof of authenticity of these documents and also upon the statement of the criteria of trustworthiness.

We can boldly assert that the criticism bestowed by the science of orthodox Islam upon the transmitted bulk of tradition is in general the *oldest example for such critical activity in the literature of the whole world.* It is attested to have existed since the eighth and ninth centuries of our era and to have attained its prime in the tenth. And strange to say, we must state here that the merit of having first formed the idea of criticism of religious sources is due to Islamic theology. Influenced by the great accuracy bestowed by conscientious Islamic critics upon their material, Occidental students were in fact benumbed for a long time by the nimbus of authenticity and truth surrounding those collections of Muhammadan tradition whose professed end was to separate the chaff from the pure corn by the application of an apparently strict method.

But no sooner did we make a closer inspection than we had to come to the conclusion that the points of view from which the Oriental critics started could lead to many a delusive result, in spite of the *bona fides* which they practiced. There are other critical points of view that are of value in our mature historical criticism. Thus you can find in the authenticated Islamic tradition contradictory information about the same events, and directly opposed utterances and orders of the Prophet on the same subject. You can find a great number of anachronisms which could only — as their theologians allow — be understood by the admission of prophetic foresight; there are praising and blaming remarks, approving and admonishing sayings, which can only refer to circumstances that occurred long after the time from which those traditions profess their derivation.

You will see that the traditions often show plainly the tendency to uphold the lawfulness of the then actual constitution of the Islamic state; since their collection and criticism took origin under the shadow of the 'Abbaside Khalifate. Nay, we have proofs that sayings, which might be favorable to opposing political schemes were directly suppressed. We have come, therefore, to the result that the tradition acknowledged as authentic, far from being able to pass for a testimony of the youth of Islam, has rather the varying stamp of the diverging directions and currents prevailing in different circles during the first three centuries. Hence the contradictory accounts and orders about the same question in religious and political affairs. Every school opinion has fabricated an authority reaching back to the Prophet's time. Each of the diverging doctrines has for its support a sentence of the Prophet's, which bears every appearance of authenticity, presenting itself in the most naïve and immediate manner. Orthodox believers, freethinkers, anthropomorphists, and spiritualists, all can show good traditions to support their doctrines.

The Islamic tradition presents the same picture in political history. The distinguished Professor of Strassburg, Theodor Nöldeke, has proved recently (1898) in a classical essay, *On the Tendentious Construction of the History of the Primitive Ages of Islam*,[1] how reports about questions seemingly trivial, as, Who was Muhammad's first follower? — about the minute characteristics of Abû Tâlib, 'Alî's father — also of 'Abbâs, the Prophet's uncle — the reports about the part they played in Muhammad's childhood — were produced by political and constitutional tendencies.

The question, "To what end?" offers one of the most useful points of view in judging the tradition of Islam. To have clear insight into the laboratory of these highly appreciated documents of primeval Islam, we must always keep in mind the ritualistic, dogmatic, and political dissensions of struggling parties, which emerged in Islam in the course of its ancient stages of development.[2]

Sometimes the very text of the tradition lets us see, as it were, its own biography, for any one acquainted with the technics of this kind of literature. You may see this, for instance, in a little fragment of traditional text, which, though insignificant in itself, yet is highly interesting as regards the history of civilization, and which I am going to put before you in translation. For your better understanding I must premise that the quotation is preceded by the following doctrine attributed to the Prophet: "If you hear that the plague has broken out in a country, do not go there; but if you are already there, do not leave the country from fear of catching the illness."

[1] *Z D M G*, vol 52.
[2] Cf. the author's *Muhammadanische Studien*, vol. II (Halle, 1890).

You see, Islam is putting up here a practical precept of how the every-day experience of contagious diseases may be somehow squared with the conviction that one cannot escape God's decree, and that one should not even try to evade it. Two opinions seem to have existed in old Islam as regards infection. The one does not admit any causal connection of events, but imputes each to a separate decree of God's. Such a view could not admit the possibility of a contagious character in certain diseases. The other did not base the explanation of facts entirely on dogmatical suppositions; some at least cared, in spite of a fatalistic creed, for their own skin and for saving their own property. The following traditional report shows you the struggle of these two modes of proceeding:

"Abû Huraira relates that the Prophet taught the following: *there is no contagion and no cankering worm* (causing disease), *and no soul-owls* (into which, according to the belief of the Arabs, the souls of the unavenged are transformed, in order to cry for the murderer's blood). Thereupon a Bedawi, who was present, threw in: 'O Messenger of God! but how is it that we see camels lying fresh and healthy like gazelles in the sand of the desert; then a scabby camel mixes with the flock, and infects all the healthy animals?' Then the Prophet replied: 'But who infected this sick camel?'

"Abû Salima relates that he heard later from Abû Huraira, that the Prophet had said: 'One must not bring a sick one among healthy ones,' and that he (A. H.) denied his previous comments. Then we said to him: 'Did you not say before, in the Prophet's name, "There is no contagion"? Then he muttered something in the Ethiopic language. — Abû Salima says: "I have never noticed that he had forgotten anything,"' (that he had told us formerly)."[1]

You can believe me that the Oriental commentators were not wanting in ingenuity for making the shadow disappear which was cast by the story just mentioned upon the earnestness and trustworthiness of Abû Huraira, who was one of the amplest informants from the Master. But, however naïvely the tale presents itself, it is technically nothing else than the reflex of, *first*, the two simultaneously existing views on the nature and efficiency of infection; *secondly*, the concession which knowledge, founded on experience, wrung from a religious conception. The fact of such a concession has found in Abû Huraira's hesitation and revocation a form suitable for these circles.

One is entitled to conclude that this critical penetration into the primeval documents of Islam shows a great progress in our knowledge of its oldest history. It is not only important, as regards the religious history of Islam, but also as concerns the criticism of the historical tradition. First on this path was Alois Sprenger, who not

[1] Bukhari, *Tibb nr.* 35, *Ṣaḥîḥ Muslim*, v, p. 54.

only pointed out, in his *Life and Doctrine of Mohammed* (1861–65), the importance of the traditions as an historical source, but also gave many hints for their critical use; an attempt, it is true, which has not removed altogether all credulity in the reconstruction of the ancient history of Islam. Since the great storehouse of the historical work of Ṭabarī became universally accessible in a completed edition, masters of historical and philological criticism, like Nöldeke, de Goeje, Wellhausen,[1] and their followers, have given us examples how we can gain from the narratives gathered by Ṭabarī, and which often represent the events from different points of view, by comparing them with other data, an historical stratification of sources which can be used to construct real history.

But here we have to do only with religious tradition, and we have to bring out how the criticism of the traditions now more and more prevalent makes for a progress in Islamic science not to be underestimated. In spite of the radically skeptical tendency, which is imposed on it as a duty by its scheme, its method has proved to be a good means to lead to a positive history of the early development of Islam.

With the sources of Islamic law our view of the law itself must stand in the closest connection. About that also we have a few words to say.

IV

The idea formed about these matters, which are generally considered the zenith of Islamic spirit, has undergone a total change in the last few decades.

No later than two centuries after the birth of Islam, in the first half of the ninth century of our era, we find a well-developed and thoroughly elaborated system of Islamic law, which has been long considered the ripe fruit of Arabian genius.

This prejudice is now altogether removed, the more so, since we have learned how much this system owes to Roman law, not only in its particular regulations, but also, which is far more important, with regard to questions of principle in methodology. The Arabic names themselves of the Islamic science of law and of its authorities,

[1] M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire de la Conquête de la Syrie* (Leide, 1900) [*Mémoires d'Histoire et de Géographie Orientales*, no. 2, new edition]. J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islam* [Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, VI]; the same: *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (Berlin, 1902).

Our knowledge of the situation under the Muhammadan conquest with regard to the native Christians, especially in Egypt, and in general about the system of administration and economy in the primary Islamic state, has been, after the standard works of Alfred v. Kremer, considerably promoted by the study of the Vienna Papyrus documents (Archduke Rainer), in whose examination Professor v. Karabacek has led (Mittheilungen, Vienna, 1886 ff). We may hope that a further increase of our knowledge will be gained from the treasures acquired lately by Heidelberg University.

have been proved to be the translation of corresponding Latin words. No doubt you will comprehend that the progress made in our knowledge of this relationship in Islamic law could not remain without influence on our judgment of its nature.

But this again had to give way to new ideas also from another point of view. The system of the Muhammadan "Fikh," which, as "*rerum humanarum ac divinarum cognitio*," extending to all circumstances of orthodox life: to ritual law in the widest sense, to legal states of social life, to the laws of Divine service, almsgiving, fasting, pilgrimage, purity, to the laws of food, to the regulations concerning religious war, as well as to the fundamental doctrines of politics and the constitution of the state, to the laws of family life and hereditary affairs, to those connected with obligations, to penal laws and judicial proceedings — this whole encyclopedical system of religious legislature had been considered as an actual constitution of law, setting up the organism of the Muhammadan state and family life, elaborated by sagacious legislators according to the practical wants of one vast empire, and whose management and execution had been the object of the anxious care of Muhammadan authorities for thirteen centuries: in one word, as a Code Napoléon for Islam.

In later days, historical consideration has proved that only a small part of this system, connected with religious and family life, has a practical effect as of old, while in many parts of merely juristical character this theological law is entirely put aside in actual jurisdiction. You see that we have not here to do with a living system of law, and also that those students of law have been on a wrong path who, without looking at the character of Islamic law in the light of history and to the criticism of sources, make use of these dead codes as data for the knowledge of life, and base their studies of comparative law on this view.

To the same distinguished Dutch Orientalist, whose great work upon Mekka, beside the *Manners and Customs* by Edward Lane, presents the most reliable and attractive description of Islamic life and society,[1] we owe the total change, carried out in general by his works, toward a right knowledge of Muhammadan law, and also the reform of our general views about the character of Fikh. Snouck Hurgronje was really the first who set forth with great acuteness and sure judgment the historical truth, namely, that what we call Muhammadan law is nothing but an *ideal* law, a theoretical system; in a word, a learned *school-law*, which reflects the thoughts of pious theologians about the arrangement of Islamic society, whose sphere of influence was willingly extended by pious rulers — as far as possible — but which as a whole could hardly ever have been the real practical standard of public life. He finds there rather *a doctrine of duties*

[1] G. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2 vols. (Haag, 1888–89.)

(*Pflichtenlehre*) of quite an ideal and theological character, traced out by generations of religious scholars, who wished to rule life by the scale of an age which in their idea was the golden period, and whose traditions they wished to maintain, propagate, and develop. Even the penalties for offenses against religious laws are often nothing else but ideal claims of the pious, dead letters conceived in studies and fostered in the hearts of God-fearing scholars, but neglected and suppressed in life where other rules became prevailing. We find even in the oldest literature of Islam many complaints about the negligence of the religious law by 'Ulema in their struggle against the practical judges, that is to say against the executors of actual law.[1]

By this correct definition of Fiḳh as a doctrine of mere duties, the notion of its character appears in a new light. The scientific historical judgment of this discipline entered herewith into a new phase of which Snouck Hurgronje must be called the author.[2]

By another fundamental doctrine Dr. Snouck has also established a new point of view for the understanding of the legal life of Islam. It had indeed been known before that orthodox Islam has four "roots" in its law: first, the Koran; secondly, tradition; thirdly, deductive reasoning; and fourthly, the consensus of the orthodox community. It was understood also, in a way, that the validity of these sources of law followed each other in descending rank; that is to say, the consideration of the ecclesiastic consensus only occupied the place of a root of law, in case scripture, tradition, and reasoning forsook us. Now we know — and this knowledge of ours is one of the most important advances in the science of Islam — that the *principle of consensus* (in Arabic *Idjmâ'*) *is in verity the key to comprehending the phenomena of historical Islam*. Not so much the Koran and tradition — I have said elsewhere — is the standard for the management of religious matters, as the manner in which the words and sense of these two are interpreted by the common feeling and sense of the competent community.

This principle is the foundation and the legitimizing basis for the admission, even for the obligatory character of all innovations adopted by Islam in the course of its history. The admission of a certain dogmatic method in explaining Koranic words, the authority awarded to the acknowledged collections of authentic traditions, the statement of what has to pass for orthodox in law, the admission of newly arisen opinions and doctrines, in one word, the

[1] Cf. the present writer's paper, *Muhammadanisches Recht in Theorie und Wirklichkeit*, in Kohler's *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, vol. 8.

[2] The principal theories of this scholar, explained in his manifold publications, are summed up in his essays, *De Islam* (published in the Dutch review *De Gids*, 1886), *Le Droit Musulman* in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. 37 (1897).

Basing on these methodical and historical principles, the Dutch scholar Th. W. Juynboll has given the most valuable scientific system of Muhammadan law in his work *Handleiding tot de Kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet* (Leiden, 1903).

whole historical Islam — all this is founded on the normative power of the consensus.

So the whole prevailing theory and practice must trace its legitimacy, even its legality, back to this. If we had only the text of the Koran, the texts of the Sunna, and the results of deductive reasoning, with these three approved "roots" for the construction of law, we should have many riddles before us in considering the real religious life in Islam. How, for instance, could the worship of saints spread all over Islamic territory, with all the manifestations of anthropolatry attaching to it, and be brought into harmony with the uncouthly inflexible monotheistic theory on which the dogmatic of Islam is based? Are there not dozens of passages in the Koran and sayings in the Sunna to justify the fighting motto of the Wahhabites and of precedent puritans, who, in all these superstitions covered under the mask of piety, see only polytheism and mere paganism, by which the purity of the creed is dimmed and falsified? This would certainly be the case, if the great principle of Idjmâ' were not there to justify such outgrowths as being in accordance with righteous Islam, in spite of the contrast they form to the real doctrine of that religion. The general feeling of the believers has adopted all this, as well as many other strange things, so that there can be no "failing."

Without the consideration of this great principle orthodox Islam, as it is, would be quite incomprehensible to us, as according to the ideas of Islamic theology, orthodoxy consists in being in complete congruity with the consensus. One becomes a heretic by merely contradicting the *Consensus Doctorum Ecclesiae.*

You will often have to deal in the history of Islam with the paradox that a reactionary doctrine corresponds to the traditional ones and still does not pass for orthodox. Take, for instance, the Wahhabite movement. It is a protest against anti-Islamic innovations; no one can deny that its puritanism agrees more nearly with the fundamental doctrines of Islam than the abominations against which it fought. But nevertheless it is heterodox. It rebelled against developments which in the course of the centuries were admitted and sanctioned by the consensus, and for that very reason had the only legitimate claim to pass for the correct form of Islam, "*nam diuturni mores consensu utentium comprobati legem imitantur*" (*Institut.* I, ii, 9).

V

But although, particularly in the Sunnitic quarters of Islam, this collective, or, as it has been called, catholic trait has manifested itself, it must be remarked, on the other hand, that just as much feeling has been shown for the *individual peculiarities* of the single parts of that wide territory over which the creed of Islam has spread.

This is shown most plainly in the attitude to the old pre-Islamic institutions of religion and law. Even the canonical Islamic system has assimilated many elements from the native systems of the conquered countries. Many a principle of method, as well as many a detail of Islamic law, has been borrowed from the Roman law, as we have just observed, and hence has become canonical law in Islam.

Yet it is not this that I wish to develop here further, but rather a manifestation of provincial individuality in the Muhammadan practice, still perceptible in our days. In complete independence of the main stream of canonical law Islam tolerates in many chapters of civil and criminal law native law-customs, which are often directly opposed to the theologically fixed law. Therein the ethnographical individualities put themselves forth with their national traditions. These provincial customs are called the *'Âdât*. As Arabic philology attaches more importance now to scientific inquiry into popular dialects besides the classical language than it did four decades ago, in like manner the 'Âdât have been made a subject for collection and historical consideration within the period whose scientific progress forms the topic of this paper. But for our knowledge of them, our information about *living institutions* would be utterly deficient.

And as there is no observation more fascinating in the history of the human mind than that of the close tie uniting the present state of nations with the traditions of their past, notwithstanding all the historical changes undergone by them, in like manner there lies, in this kind of facts, an elevating perception that traditions which have lasted for thousands of years are reflected in these 'Âdât, over which the flood of history has been flowing, without sweeping them away. Even Islam, that overwhelming power, which, sword in hand, stormed the nations, could not destroy them.

In the customary laws of the present Muslim Kabyles of Northern Africa you will find characteristic elements in disharmony with legal Islam, which are identical with or at least kin to the customs and laws mentioned in antiquity in connection with the Numidians and Mauritanians. Those people are quite aware of their opposition to Islamic ordinances, which extends even to Koranic commands as if the Koran had not been revealed to them at all. According to the Kabyle legislation the feminine sex is entirely excluded from the capability of partaking in any inheritance; women are deprived of all rights as regards private law. As to the civil law of the Koran these Kabyles opine that its prescriptions were made for a country quite different from theirs, for a nation that had a different manner of life from their own.[1] But nevertheless they are partakers in the community of Islam and look for the Paradise of Believers.

We can therefore welcome as one of the most gratifying advances in

[1] Cf. *Z D M G*, vol. 41, p. 38 ff.

the knowledge of Islam, that more and more attention has been paid to the 'Âdât of the separate Muhammadan peoples. Chiefly in two geographical territories much fertile work has been done. I have just mentioned the population of Northwest Africa, being a territory where the French colonial administration has pursued the collection of the 'Âdât with great zeal. The three volumes by Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes Kabyles* (Paris, 1872–73), is a classical work of codification of Berber custom-law. As regards special studies, still more extensive is what Dutch scholars have done in the Indian insular colonies of their beautiful fatherland, for the knowledge of the 'Âdât among their Muhammadan subjects. The description of the religious life and social customs of the Atjehs (1893) and of the Gajô (1903), given to us by Snouck Hurgronje in two of his most instructive books,[1] offer undoubtedly the most exact treatise on the 'Âdât in countries whose formal law is Islam. The scientific reviews dedicated to the investigation of the philology, geography, and ethnography of Dutch India[2] are rich in fine and thorough investigations into these conditions. I can well mark these important researches and gatherings as a welcome advance in our modern scientific study of Islam, though they have mostly kept themselves rather in the frame of ethnography.

Equally rich in stimulating elements are the data of provincial peculiarities with which we meet in matters of creed and religious exercise. Here is a rich crop for the chapter of ethno-psychology and religious history which can be headed *Survivals*, to use a term brought into vogue by Edward B. Tylor. We have examples of direct remains of pagan worship in tribes, outwardly submitted to Islam. Al-Bekrî, an Arabic geographical author of the eleventh century (died 1094), transmits to us in this relationship remarkable facts about North African Islam. In his time many a Berber tribe made offerings to Roman monuments, prayed to them for the recovery of their sick, and felt grateful to them for the prosperity of their belongings.[3] This rather indefinite statement is completed by statements from the same author quoted by Yâḳût, that three days' journey from Waddân in the territory of Fezzân, south of Tripolis, — now a place inhabited by an enormous number of Shurafâ,[4] that is,

[1] Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers* (Batavia-Leiden, 1893–94), 2 vols. — *Het Gajoland en Zijne bewoners* (Batavia, 1903).

[2] Let us mention in the first place the volumes of *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, published by the Royal Institution for Dutch-Indian Studies. For special chapters on the 'Âdât of Java and Madura see Van den Berg, in the vol. 1892, pp. 454–512, and 1897, pp. 83–181. In the first note of the former paper some previous literature on the 'Âdât is mentioned. J. A. Nederburgh began in 1896 to publish in Batavia a periodical *Wet en 'Âdât*; but it was only carried on till 1898, in all, three issues.

[3] *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XII, p. 458.

[4] Cf. Rohlfs, Kufra (Leipzig, 1881), p. 147 ff. 176; Mohammed b. Othman el-Hachaichi, *Voyage au pays des Senoussia* (translated by Serres and Lasram, Paris, 1903), p. 134 ff.

pretending descendants of the Prophet's family, — there was standing on a hill a stone idol called *Krza* (the vowel between *r* and *z* is uncertain). The neighboring Berber Kabyles made pilgrimages to this idol, brought it sacrifices, and held rogation ceremonies in time of drought. I am no friend of mere hypotheses and bold identifications of proper names. Nevertheless, in mentioning this African idol, I cannot help throwing out the query whether we have not before us in this *Krza* the remainder of the name *Gurzil*, mentioned by Corippus in his *Joannide* (II, vv. 109–110, 405; IV, vv. 669, 1139), as the name of an old Berber idol, identified with Jupiter Ammon, and brought into connection with an oracle.

At the same time a Berber tribe in the Atlas Mountains is said, by the same Al-Bekrî, to have worshiped a ram.[1] And even in the fifteenth century Leo Africanus can tell us about customs of North African Berbers, which he explains as remains of ancient African paganism which had not disappeared in the times of Islam.[2] The worship of the ram in Muhammadan North Africa can be brought into analogy with a parallel from quite the opposite end of the territory of Islam. Al-Dimishkî, a cosmographic writer of the thirteenth century (died 1256), informs us regarding the province of Ghîlân, Northwestern Persia, along the shores of the Caspian Sea, that the Muhammadans of that country labored under materialistic ideas about the Deity. They went so far as to conceive of God as riding at midday on a white ass. And in fact they bestowed great honors on asses of that color.[3] Indefinite as this remark of the Arabic author may be, at any rate it serves us as testimony of well-pronounced animal-worship among a population who no doubt esteemed themselves orthodox adherents of Islamic faith. Perhaps there is some relation between this superstitious cult of a *white* ass and the ideas about the mythological *Kharem ashavanem* (probably a white ass) of the Zarathustrians (*Bundahish*, ch. xix).

We have thus seen solid pagan remains in the midst of Muhammadan populations. But such religious survivals are not attested of former times only. In different parts of the Islamic world paganism, with uncultivated tribes, in its more or less original forms, has outlasted the ruling influence of Islam, although that was established centuries ago. A remarkable instance in the religious conditions of Muhammadan Madagascar is given in the description supplied by the French Consul, M. Gabriel Ferrand, who has with great industry and zeal revealed to us Malagasy philology and ethnography. Although the Sakalava people have adhered to Islam for three centuries, "they have adopted Islam without bringing any notable change to their

[1] Bekri, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale* (ed. de Slane, Alger, 1857), p. 161, 4.
[2] *Descriptio Africae* (ed. Antwerpen), p. 112.
[3] Dimischki, *Cosmographie ed. Mehren* (St. Petersburg, 1866), p. 226.

former customs and manners." Allah and the Prophet take a prominent place in their religious ceremonies, yet still inferior to Zanahatry and Angatra, their national divinities. Their life continues to be ruled by the observation of their tabu views, called *fady* in their language, and their magicians pursue undisturbed the pagan customs of their ancestors, with the only difference that this sorcery is practiced under the standard of *Allâh akbar*.[1]

This sort of paganism surviving under the shield of a Muhammadan exterior is one of the most decisive factors in the *individual* formation of provincial Islam, and has resisted all exertions of clerical influence enforcing itself from abroad. The following fact, observed in the Caucasian Ingush tribe, can be considered as typical for the coating of pagan reminiscences with the superficial forms of Islam. We choose our examples with intention from parts of the Muhammadan world separated from each other by great distances. The Ingush are Muhammadans in name; but as with most peoples inhabiting mountains, their ancient paganism has conserved itself under their exterior Islam. Hahn, who is best acquainted with the customs of these populations, reports that the worship of the idol Gushmile is almost universal among them and explains how this worship can agree very well with that of Allah. The Muhammadan Galgai (in the Caucasus) pray only by night in front of quadrangular stone columns of the height of a man, erected on hills and in cemeteries. Remarkable is the worship of skeletons in an ossuary near Nasran. The skeletons are said to come from their *Narthes* (ancestors) and to have begun to decay only since the arrival of the Russians. These objects of worship are *covered with green shawls from Mekka*.[2] This green shawl from Mekka, with which the objects and forms of the old traditional worship are covered, interprets very fittingly the ethno-psychological process involved in the Islamification of such populations. Green is the Prophet's color. Under the "green shawl" the old national *religious 'Âdât* continue to live.

Even in places where the Islamic ingredients have opposed the popular creed with greater force, this national element lends an individual living color, reflecting the special character of Islam in the different provinces to which it extends, and rendering prominent its locally defined peculiarities.

The minute observation of such facts, on the other hand, has also been useful in reconstructing elements of ethnical religions, which were extinct long ago in their original form, but have been preserved under a superficial Muhammadan veil up to the present day. Following this method Samuel Ives Curtiss, the distinguished professor

[1] *Les Musulmans à Madagascar et aux îles Comores*, III (Paris, 1902), p. 80 ff.
[2] Hahn, *Bei den Pschaven, Chevsuren, Kisten und Inguschen*, in *Beilage* no. 101, Münchener Allgem. Zeitung, 1898.

of Chicago, was able to construct from the present religious customs of the Bedawîn in Syria, Palestine, and the Sinai Peninsula the primitive rites of Semitic religion in a book[1] which fully met the approbation of learned circles on both sides of the ocean. Further researches following the way he took will, no doubt, add to his accumulation of evidence.

Some remains of ancient libation customs have, for instance, been preserved in a communication drawn from the book of the late Egyptian Minister *'Alî Bâshâ Mubârak*, which is most ample in this respect.[2] In the neighborhood of Ḳastal, in the peninsula of Sinai, is the tomb of a Shaikh Marzûḳ al-Kifâfî, lying on the Egyptian pilgrims' road. When passing this grave, pilgrims are wont to break glasses filled with rosewater, prepared beforehand in Cairo for that purpose, and to pour the odorous contents over the grave-hill of the quite unknown shaikh. The ancient Semitic ceremony of libation is here extended to an unknown personage transformed into an Islamic saint.

The festival-cycle of universal Islam, with its movable lunary calendar, has no connection at all with the life of nature. The feasts are not spring or autumn feasts; they are bound to days in the calendar which are subject to migration through all seasons. This want is supplied in the popular religious exercises by adopting old pre-Islamic feasts and giving them an Islamic stamp. The Nile, "God's gift," plays, of course, no rôle in the canonical books of Islam. But in the popular religious customs of Egyptian Islam nearly the same reverence is rendered to it as in the land of the pagan Pharaohs, with the difference that everything is turned Islamic and interpreted in that sense. And likewise in the practice of religious customs in Islamic Egypt, as well as in many other countries, pre-Islamic customs and pagan religious conceptions have been adapted and blended with Islamic sense, apart from the official worship, in different circles. The pagan worship of trees, stones, wells, and demons has been preserved; so within the official religious worship numerous superstitious customs of the national pre-Islamic traditions have survived. There is no department in religious life where such traditions present themselves in a more original way than the rites of rogation for rain (*istisḳâ*), which have shown themselves to be real depositories of pagan witchcraft.

You will not be astonished at the toleration of much pagan custom within official Islam, if you consider that in the holiest spot of Islam, "God's House" in Mekka, the fetishism exercised at it

[1] *Primitive Semitic Religion of To-day: a Record of Researches, Discoveries, and Studies in Syria, Palestine, and the Sinaitic Peninsula.* (New York, 1902.) German translation: *Ursemitische Religion im Volksleben des heutigen Orients*, with a Preface by Professor Graf W. Baudissin (Leipzig, 1903).

[2] *Al-Khitat al-djadîda.* Cairo, 1304–06 (1886–88), 20 volumes. Cf. XIII, p. 20.

with the "Black Stone," the formalities of the holy pilgrimage are all *sacra* taken over by Muhammad himself from the ancient Arabian religion, over which the veil of monotheism has been spread.

I esteem the cultivation of this realm of research and the insight obtained from it into the *individualism*, stamped differently according to provinces upon the catholic Islam, to be one of the most valuable acquisitions of the new Islamic studies. We are thus introduced to the knowledge of *living Islam* and to the historical and ethnographical factors of its manifestations of life. We have passed beyond Reland's theoretical Islam, "*uti docetur in templis et scholis Mohammedicis*," with a mighty step.

A very peculiar field of remainders turned with an Islamic sense is the *worship of saints*. In the forms of this manifestation of religious life, the remains of the old times have taken shelter unknowingly. As in other world-religions, the Muhammadan saints also are often transformed successors of ancient objects of worship. In the local worship of saints, as we just remarked of the tomb of Shaikh Marzûḳ, near Ḳasṭal, remains of pre-Islamic rites are mostly preserved.

Islam has taken hold even of Buddhist sanctuaries, in countries formerly inhabited by followers of Buddha, and interpreted them to suit its own sense. Buddha's footsteps in Ceylon have easily become the footsteps of 'Alî; a jug of Buddha's venerated in Kandahar has been transferred to Muhammad. Grenard, companion to the unfortunate explorer Dutreuil de Rhins in his East Turkestan travels and elaborator of their results, could say with right, about the Muhammadan holy places of pilgrimage in ancient Buddhist territory, that the holy personages worshiped there are mostly *un avatar Musulman de Buddha*.[1] This tenacity of local cults on formerly Buddhistic ground occupied by Muslims has been since confirmed on a larger scale by my fellow countryman Dr. M. A. Stein, in his wonderful explorations in Chinese Turkestan.[2]

It results from all this that it is especially in dealing with the local and provincial worship of saints that we can obtain the information and collect the materials which we have pointed out in the precedent notices as objects of study in religious history. We do not possess a *Legenda aurea* of Islam, nor do Bollandists of Islam come to our help, though the sphere of this religion would be extremely rich in materials for such collections.[3] We have to gather our materials ourselves with great pains from a wide branching original literature and from the information furnished by observant travelers. Large tracts of Islam are not so well worked for such a crop as we might

[1] *Mission scientifique dans la Haute-Asie* (1890–95), III, p. 46.
[2] *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* (London, 1904), pp. 180 ff.; 226; 329.
[3] C. Trumelet, *Les Saints de l'Islam. Légendes hagiologiques et croyances algériennes.* — *Les Saints du Tell* (Paris, 1881).

expect from the means and the easy opportunities offering themselves to explorers just there. I think chiefly of India here. Much preparatory work is done for Egypt, where the learned statesman already mentioned has furnished most valuable materials in his topographical description of the country. Also for Palestine and Syria a considerable amount of careful work has been done in this respect by the coöperators of the Exploration Funds. And extremely useful are the contributions being continually presented of late by the Algerian school,[1] following the guidance of René Basset, in this chapter of individual formations in Maghrebine Islam, on the relationship of the special worship of saints in this quarter of Islam to the old traditions of its population.

VI

In our flying review of the progress of Islamic science, we could not, within the space we can justly claim for it here, possibly discuss all the questions whose examination marks the progress which this science has taken in the later times. Especially we must regret that we could not devote a special chapter to that ample increase which the knowledge of Muhammadan sects has gained lately. In this respect we should have to mention here among many others in the first place the exhaustive researches of Edward G. Browne on the Bâbî movement in Persia.[2]

It could not be our intention to exhaust the task set before us in all its details and to enter into all the starting-points which would present themselves to us in exposing our theme. We can point out only the most prominent points of view from which this progress has been carried out.

What I intended to show you and that of which I desired to convince you is chiefly this: that the undeniable intrinsic progress of Islamic studies has manifested itself in the following ways in the last decades:

(1) The deeper knowledge of *ancient Islam* and of its *constitutive factors;*
(2) the methodical treatment of the *documents* reflecting *the development* of Islam;
(3) the truer insight into the character of the *institutions and laws* of Islam;

[1] We will point out here in this order of studies the remarkable essay of Doutté, *Notes sur l'Islam maghribin. Les Marabouts* (Paris, 1900), and other contributions of this scholar.

[2] *A Traveller's Narrative written to illustrate the episode of the Báb* (two vols.), Cambridge, 1891; *The Táríkh-i-jadíd, or New History of . . . the Báb:* Cambridge, 1893, and many contributions of the same scholar on Bábî history and literature in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society. — Cf. also the valuable publications of the Russian scholar A. H. Toumansky on the religious books of the sect.

(4) the increasing estimation of *individual formations* within *universal* Islam; and
(5) the consideration of the *after-effects of pre-Islamic traditions* upon those popular and individual formations.

VII

Our review would be still more defective if we did not add one more remark in appreciation of a means which has helped and still helps us in a valuable way to produce significant progress in our understanding of Islam. I have in mind the important *documents of Islamic religious science* which are within our reach through the labors of printers in the Orient itself. He who would in the sixth decade of the past century study, for instance, one of the most prominent monuments of the religious spirit of Islam, the *Vivification of Sciences*, by Al-Ghazâlî, or other important works of this author, had to seek access to the manuscripts of more or less accessible libraries. Among the great collections of traditions, others than Bukhârî were mostly known only by names or from quotations. Only a few selected men had admittance to these others, no less important. It was seldom that an Occidental scholar got sight of the mass of commentaries, in which an inappreciable philological material, a valuable apparatus for text-critical and exegetical purposes is accumulated, which is so precious in the very field of traditions. The oldest documents of the literature of legal institutions were thought lost. The works of the theological scholastics, whence we take our information about the nature and history of the dogmas of Islam, were only known to a defective extent. All this has been done away with for nearly three decades and a half, by printing in Islamic countries: Turkey, Egypt, Northern Africa, India, Persia. As even the strongest bulwark of ancient Islam, the holy city of Mekka, had to permit telegraph wires to enter her consecrated walls, in like manner she has become one of the centres of Islamic printing. Those publications have furnished us with some of the most important primary sources, sometimes in numerous bulky volumes whose publication could never have been thought of in Europe or America. And even that the most capital commentaries of the Koran, for example the great exegetical work of Ṭabarî in thirty parts and the "Keys of the mystery" of the great dogmatic authority, Fakhr al-dîn al-Râzî, in eight bulky volumes, have become accessible to our scholars, is due to the activity of Oriental typography.

In view of the profit gained from such publications, we excuse willingly the confusing and for our eyes most painful way in which the Persian and Indian lithographs present the explanatory glosses and marginal commentaries. The easy possibility of studying these

works nowadays, and rendering them profitable for our researches has been a strong factor in the progress of the thorough and special knowledge of the historical development of the doctrines and institutions of Islam.

That the scholars of the Orient may also profit from our critical method, that they, to whom we owe so much splendid material, may, by intelligent collaboration in our endeavors, contribute to the promotion of scientific work about their own past and present, must be our wish.